THE

Hindu Message

A Weekly Review of Indian and World-Problems from the Hindu Standpoint.

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Vol. XI., No. 6—7.] Registered No. M. 1304. THURSDAY DECEMBER 7—14, 1922. [Price: 2 As. Annual Subscription Rs. 6

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The Hindu Message stands for

(1) Self-Government for India within the British Commonwealth,

(2) Co-operation with the different communities of India without prejudice to Hindu Dharma,

(3) Education of the Hindus as an integral part of the Indian Nation,

(4) Advancement of Material prosperity on a spiritual basis and

(5) Dissemination of pure Hindu Culture.

Annual Subscription, Including Medical Supplement, Rs. 6 only.
Medical Supplement only, Rs. 3. only per annum,
Single copy As. 2 only.

The Editor will be pleased to consider manuscripts if accompanied by stamped and addressed envelopes. He accepts no responsibility, however, for manuscripts submitted to him.

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A Vision of India.

INDIA'S PLACES OF PILGRIMAGE.

By K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A. B.L.,

In all this restless universe of change
Where faiths and empires float down Times' swift and stream
And man's work, joy and grief become a dream
And earth puts on bright garments new and strange
And into desert turns the moated grange
And deserts shine with prosperity's gleam,
Our pilgrim-centres pure alone with beam
Immortal shine, beyond Time's arrows' range.
In Kurukshetra beats our India's heart,
There Virtue pure in arms embattled stood;
The Charioteer held the reins of life.
From thee faith's circulating life-streams start,
O! field deluged with showered precious blood
Where righteousness for God's sake fought with strife.

———

Owing to stock-taking in the Press consequent on its transference to The Sri Vani Vilas Syndicate Ltd., the printing of this issue has been unavoidably delayed. Hence we are issuing this and the next issue as Double Nos., to make up for lost time. From the 1st issue of the new year the Journal will issue regularly every week.

The Medical Supplement also is for the same reason withheld from these two Double issues. From the new year it will also appear punctually.

The 23rd article on Dharma and Life will appear in our next issue.

MANAGER,
Hindu Message,
Srirangam.

A Song of Super-life.

(By an Indian Dreamer.)

IX

When I thought of matter as mere matter, that began to materialise even my Spirit.

Now that I realise the Spirit of Nature I realise the truth of my spirit even more.

We can know the truth of the Spirit well only when we know the truth of matter.

We can know the truth of matter well only when we know the truth of the Spirit.

Matter and Soul are the two eyes of the Eternal Love.

Events of the Week.

The late Mr. C. H. Blythe, globe-trotter, who recently died at Burdwan, before he left Calcutta, made over several letters he had written to the editor of the 'Amrita Bazzar Patrika.' The 'Patrika' has published Mr. Blythe's first letter, addressed to the British nation.

Concludiug his letter, Mr. Blythe wrote:—

"Fellow-countrymen, I tell you plainly that India wants her freedom, either as a Dominion or as a soverign state and she means to have it. If India is forced to wage war on Britain in order to gain that freedom then India will emerge victorious from the conflict and a new United States of India will rise upon the ruins of the British Raj.

India may be faultlessly equipped for Self-Government or she may be lacking in some respects but she is capable of some sort of real Self-Government. Seventyfive per cent of her population may be uneducated but twenty years will erase that in a great measure.

At the moment there are many thousands of intellectuals in India, men whose mentality matches the mentality of any European. They are capable of governing and being Indians, know their own people better than any foreigner can know them. If the Indians are granted actual Dominion Home Rule, they will be content. If they are not granted it and that speedily, then, they will try to obtain complete independence by peaceful methods and if these peaceful methods fail, then they will be obliged to swing from one extreme to the other. If in so doing they wreck India, they will also wreck Britain.

I warn you my countrymen: look through your own eyes and see both sides of the fence. You have been staring at the white side of it for two hundred years. Look at the black side for a change and see—not a race of degraded, disunited, semi-brutes but a cultured and strong nation.

Examine their leaders, discover their achievements, listen to their request and accede to it or refuse. Refuse and render your protestations of guardianship from aggression and protection of Belgium, null and void, make your Christianity a laughing stock, make your culture a reproach, damn yourselves for ever and crucify Christ again!"

* * *

H. G. Wells, in a message to the National Union of Journalists, of which he is a member, emphasies the importance of Trade Unionism in the profession.

'I count our profession,' he says, 'as second only in importance to that of the teacher, It supplements and carries on his work. We are not mere hirelings; our work is creative and responsible work. The activities of rich adventurers in buying and directing the policy of group of newspapers is a grave public danger. A free-spirited, well-paid, and well-organised profession of journalism is our only protection against that danger.'

* * *

The London correspondant of the 'Ceylon Daily News' in a special cable dated Nov. 24 states:—

In a special interview yesterday Mr. Saklatwala was asked whether he would assist in securing for Ceylon a territorial elected majority in Council and other Reforms, including unfettered control over Finance and Taxation. He replied: 'I don't believe in so-called measures of Reform. There is either Self-Government or Dictation. It is futile to suppose that there is a way between these two.' Legislative Councils had no attraction for him. He advocated the Soviet system through Trade Unionism for both India and Ceylon. All else was Capitalist camouflage. Every nation must be free to determine its own form of Government. Constitutions imposed by outsiders were unlawful and people owed them no allegiance.

* * *

It is worthy of note that in his maiden speech in the House of Commons, the Indian member, Mr. Saklatwala, struck a note which, so far as India is concerned, has never before been heard in that House. The loss of trade with India, he said, was due to the imposition of a Constitution on India which had been written outside India and also to the capitalist system which was responsible for the erection of 74 jute mills in Bengal which had resulted in employing Bengal labour at 13 shillings a month and the reaping of dividends of from a hundred to four hundred per cent. It is perfectly clear that Mr. Saklatwala will represent at once the advanced political and the advanced economic opinion of India.

* * *

The "New Statesman" wrote on November 18:—

In one of his last speeches before the Election, Mr. Bonar Law spoke of the tranquility of India as being among the urgent tasks of the new Government. Lord Reading has undoubtedly informed him that in respect of India the Prime Minister has his work cut out. The extremist movement has once more arrived at a crucial stage. A short time ago the Committee of the National Congress which had been touring the country for the purpose of surveying the chances of a mass movement of civil disobedience issued a thoroughly discouraging report. It implied the breakdown of Non-Co-operation, and a section of the Committee, headed by Mr. Motilal Nehru of Allahabad, one of the ablest men in the movement, came out strongly for a return to definite political action. This policy is championed, in much more decisive terms, by Mr. C. R. Das who would have been in the chair of the National Congress a year ago had he not been in prison. Mr. Das, apparently, demands the immediate establishment of India as a self-governing dominion. If the Government is prepared for that, well and good; if not, the Non-Co-operation party is to set out for the capture of the legislative assemblies and thereafter, to make use of every device of parliamentary obstruction with the avowed object of destroying government. The assemblies, he declares, are nothing but a mask put on by the bureaucracy, and the clear duty of Indians is to tear it away. The entire Budget must be disallowed, and the Councils must be made impotent until the Indian demands are satisfied, the Goverment being forced to govern by veto as long as it can. Mr. Das, moreover, looks beyond India to the creation of a great Asiatic federation, to include both India and Pan-Islam—a sufficiently expansive scheme for a man who hitherto has been concerned mainly with the critical and protestant aspect of nationalism. There can however, be no doubt as to the popular success of the Das-Nehru policy. The educated Indian is an intensely political being. There is very little attraction for him in the Gandhi appeal to passive resistance and an absolute austerity of personal living. But there is a strong attraction in the idea of using the forms of representative government for ends not contemplated by those who framed them.

* * *

Since the end of the war the British Indian Government has borrowed large sums in Britain. The amounts, dates and rates of interest are mentioned below.

£7,500,000 at par April 1921,7 p. c.
,,10,000,000,, 93½ December1921, 5½ ,,
,,12,500,000,, 96 June 1922, ,, ,,
,,20,000,000,, 85 November 1922 4½ ,,
Total £50,000,000 or 75 crores of Rupees.

India's previous debt to Britain was £170,000,000. So the Grand total is £220,000,000 or three hundred and thirty crores of rupees. The more the money borrowed for India in Britain, the stronger becomes Britain's hold on India. The larger the number of the British creditors of India and the larger their lendings, the greater becomes the British opposition to the winning of self-rule by Indians: because the British investors apprehend that a self-governing India may repudiate the loans, or reduce the rates of interest, or may really become insolvent and unable to pay.

In addition to being politically disadvantageous to us, foreign loans are also economically bad for us, in as much as the sums paid as interest go away from the land and do not bear fruit here. Large loans also enable the Government to incur extravagant expenditure and at the same time keep up the appearence of solvency, which is detrimental to our interests.

The Hindu Message

Dharma and Life—XXIV.

War and the League of Nations.

The efforts of Ex-President Wilson—a true follower of the Prince of Peace and his Gospel of Love—were well-meant, and he succeeded in getting the League of Nations formally constituted and installed. We think, however, that it has provoked no enthusiasm so far, and its meetings so far have been confined to the settlement or discussion of questions of minor importance. We doubt very much whether the world's peace can be secured by it. We think that only a universal state on the model or ideal which the Hindu Dharma enjoined—the "*Sarvabhaumaraja*"—can promote peace, though it cannot end war. The bellicose impulse is inherent in man's nature. Hence, an ultimate centre of force is needed to settle the disputes among men and communities when passions run high and threaten to plunge them headlong into the forcible modes of settlement known as war. The best proof that wars cannot be avoided is that even the United States has engaged in two big wars and has had also to indulge in the luxury of a civil war, as the only means available for abolishing slavery in the Southern States. No doubt President Lincoln enunciated in noble language the peace ideal and aspirations of the United States:—"With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us finish the work we are in—to bind up one another's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and orphans; to do all which may achieve a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations." The subsequent wars with Spain and Germany prove how futile were America's aspirations after a "just and lasting peace with all nations," however sincere, were bound to prove futile, if not a mere dream of spiritual fervour or speculation. The Civil war now going on among the Irish even after they have gained the substance of freedom shows how impossible it is to curb the human impulses to strife. The unity of Italy and Germany could only be achieved by several wars. The historian, Mr. Hodges says truly:—"Every great peace conference builds with a view to permanence, but the result of their labours has been too often but a sad example of the vanity of human wishes. It is easy enough to blame, as Mr. Hodges does, "the old world before 1789, the world of absolute kings and class privileges" for the wars of previous epochs. But the armed democracies of to-day are as capable of indulging the war fever as the monarchies and aristocracies now passing away from the Western world. So long as men pay respect to those who achieve success and so long as men cannot endure a humiliation,—so long as there are men of leading in the West who can "claim for war that it brings out qualities of courage, self-denial, discipline, endurance, enthusiasm, that are atrophied in peace time, and so war is a creative force,"—so long as the impulse to self-assertion is inherent in the average man,—we cannot prevent communities from resorting to war, we cannot prevent men from joining others who are like-minded in attacking those who thwart their common purposes and aims.

If the League of Nations develops into the one military state in the world by the abolition of all national armies or navies or their reduction on such a scale as to amount to a practical abolition of them, the opportunities of war will become reduced to a satisfactory extent, and this state of things is as much as can be reasonably expected of an imperfect world like this. The same will be true of a single universal Empire comprising all other states within its dominating influence and control. As far as human vision can penetrate into the future, there seems no possibility of achieving either of these alternatives and thereby minimising the occasions for war. Our Dharma has recognised the essential weakness of human nature and even from the dawn of history, insisted on the need and necessity of a "*Sarvabhauma-Raja*," a single universal Empire and World-State.

It is doubtless true that the qualities of courage, endurance and discipline are as inherent in the nature of man as the impulse to quarrel and have a free fight. The claim made for war that war alone is the pre-destined nursery for their growth and that they become atrophied in a time of peace cannot therefore be allowed; And it is even true that in the stress of a conflict they are often ignored. A civilisation in

which peace has such a deplorale effect must necessarily be based on slender foundations,—*i.e.*, on false conceptions of right and wrong. In India our conceptions of right and wrong are based upon the "eternal" Dharma. In the West, the standard and bases of morality are ever varying and still unsettled. Moreover, with us freedom is recognised as the very essence of the human spirit—as an end in itself, as the final and supreme ever-present goal of the life of social unity or even the doing of right in all human relations as a means to such achievement. The moment war on the field of battle is over, social and industrial war among classes commences and is pursued on a scale and with destructive effects compared with which even the horrors of war shrink into insignificance. To the war of classes is, in these, days, added a war of sexes, the most insidious and perilous of all. The very nature of women in the West seems to be changing under the stress of adverse influences, and how the fight for political power under the franchise now extended to them remains to be seen. In Europe, thinkers have occasionally risen who have expressed their dissatisfaction with the franchise as an effective method of ascertaining the popular will in modern democracies. We have, in several of our previous contributions on the State, fully pointed out how our Dharma has devised a method less apt to breed and develop the combative impulses of men and as efficacious for ascertaining the popular will while restraining its unreasoning impulses and ungovernable passions. It is the European method of consulting the popular will by *enforcing* the franchise on the millions or masses who have neither the time nor the qualifications needed, nor even the inclination or wish to form opinions on far-reaching questions of national importance that is responsible for the uncertainties of policy and for the frequent and capricious changes of Ministry noticeable everywhere, especially in Great Britain. The Parliamentary history of Great Britain in its relations to Ireland during the last 40 or 50 years is proof positive to indicate to us that British democracy is a delusion and a sham, if not also a snare to entrap the unwary. Unless the great mass of British electors despised equally all British parties and British Ministers, they could not have rejected Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Ministries or kept in power so long the Ministry of Lloyd-George which,—at the instance of a foreigner and a Boer, too, so recently a bitter and relentless foe of England,—become suddenly, but too late, converted to the wisdom of the policy of granting Home Rule and consented to the treaty which brought into existence the Irish Free State. The House of Commons is always "led," and has but rarely been known to give a lead to the Ministry in power. We have already shown how the members of the popular chamber have to depend upon the favour of Caucuses and Bosses for securing their election, and they remain their puppets while they occupy their seats. It is no wonder that Socialism and Syndicalism spread and gain an increasing number of adherents,—that the Labour Party has doubled its strength in the House of Commons at the recent General Election in Great Britain. There is far more honesty, far more love of freedom for its own sake and of true manliness in the British Labour Party than in the traditional groups or factions known as Liberals and Conservatives brought together by the love of power and ascending. The Labour Party loves freedom truly, and has shown its fidelity to the cause of freedom by supporting Home Rule for Ireland in the past, and now for India in its recent election manifesto. People who truly love freedom need not be taught, or *forced*, to confer freedom. No people who truly love freedom can endure the agony of seeing others kept in slavery and subjection. It is the Arya-Dharma alone that has grappled successfully with the problem of co-ordinating different races and communities so as to enable them to enjoy the same rights of citizenship and political freedom under one and the same constitution. Imperial India, ancient or mediaeval, in its heyday of independence and manly strength, never imposed political slavery or subjection and freely allowed the right of self-determination to all the states comprised in the continent of Bharata-varsha in accordance with the precepts of Dharma. So long as the ideal of freedom is not of the right sort, so long as it is pursued only as a means and not as an end in itself, so as it is preserved as a monopoly and not freely conferred on all so as to prove an efficient cementing force and bond of empire,—so long as man loves power and dominance over fellow-man,—freedom can only be a mere name and an empty delusion. It is not peace when long-continued, but a civilisation which is false in its foundations and in its essentials, that prevents the development of human virtues or their practice in daily life. A true civilisation is that which promotes human freedom,—freedom for the individual and group; all civilisations are false that impose obstacles to the human enjoyment of freedom in the fullest measure. The League of Nations has failed and must fail, to prevent war. Mr. Henderson, the great

Labour Leader, says enough to convince us why it is bound to fail. He says:—"It is a reasoned, intelligent, and scientific attempt to construct international machinery to administer justice between nations with a view to dispose of all points of friction which may arise. In reality, it will be an International Court of Justice to which all disputes between adhering nations which cannot be settled by diplomatic means must be referred to arbitration. Such disputes may be either justiciable, *i.e.*, disputes which are capable of being decided by recognised international law; or non-justiciable disputes, *i.e.*, which cannot be covered by international jurisprudence but which can be settled by moral law, *provided the nations are disposed to accept moral law as being on at least as high a plane as law made by man*." The proviso practically abandons the entire position and argument previously elaborated on behalf of the League of Nations. No moral law can have a truly ethical or spiritual value for humanity which does not recognise the elementary facts and phenomena of man's nature, as they have been made known to us and become duly recognised by all. Mr. Henderson is fully aware of this truth. For he avows:—"Even this method (viz., the settlement of disputes by moral law) of maintaining the world-peace may not be fully satisfactory and successful unless it has the full sanction of the peoples behind it. Mr. Henderson clearly contrasts "the moral law" with "the law made by man" in the extract above quoted. The "moral law," therefore, is, in his view, law *not* made by man, but by Him who is above all men and ought not to require any higher sanction, for there is none higher than the Supreme Being who creates and sustains the universe. In this Holy Land, we recognise, in full measure, that the Dharma and its precepts are the "commands" of the Supreme. All Dharmic precepts and commands constitute together the "moral law" which we, Hindus, accept as our ideal and guide in life, and accept, too, without qualification or exception. The Dharma applies to all times,—to times of war and times of peace, and solves all the problems of humanity in a perfectly legitimate and satisfactory manner and in such a manner as to secure to man the goal of true freedom. Dharma alone can "hold together" a world fallen to atoms and reconstruct it, too, so as to form a new and undreamed-of fraternity of peoples and democracies co-operating for the harmony which is to lead to the goal of Freedom,—Freedom for all to love and serve all here,—Freedom here and hereafter to realise the Unity which, when realised, is non-different from Realisation and Freedom.

Social and Religious.

The Bhagavad Gita.

With an English Exposition
By K. S. Ramaswamy Sastri B. A, B. L.
(The substance of the lectures delivered at the Students' Sanatana Dharma Sabha, Trichinopoly.)

CHAPTER IX.

महर्षयः सप्तपूर्वे चत्वारो मनवस्तथा ।
मद्भावमानसा जाता येषां लोक इमाः प्रजाः ॥

The seven ancient great sages, and the four Manus, devoted to me, were born from my mind. This world and all these beings are of their creation.

Notes:

1. The seven great sages are Bhrigu, Marichi Atri, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and Vasishta.

2. There has been a storm of controversy about the words *Purve chatvaro Manavah.* Why has the lord referred to four Manus, when the Manus are fourteen in number? Sridhara and following him Madhusoodana and Nilakanta got over the difficulty by saying that *Purve chatvaro* refers to the four ancient sages Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanatkumara and Sanatsujata.

In his world-famous introduction to Gita Bhashya, Sri Sankaracharya says that Bhagavan taught at the beginning of creation Pravritti Dharma to Marichi and other Prajapathis and Nivritti Dharma to Sanaka and others. Both the Dharmas are the means of order and progress and perfection in the universe. The above cutting of the Gordian knot in regard to *chatvarah* is in itself unsatisfactory though ingenious and is opposed to the interpretation by the three great Acharyas. The words *Purve* and *chatvarah* can hardly be yoked together in the context. *Purve* must qualify *Maharshayah Sapta* or the same and also *chatvaro manavah.* There is no internal indication in the text that *purve* refers to Sanaka and others. Nor can Sanaka and others be included in the Prajapatis or creators, as they left no progeny, unless we seek the aid of metaphor and say that their *sishyas* from time to time are their spiritual progeny. In the Mahabharata it is stated how Sanatsujata, at Vidura's request, taught Dhritarashtra the higher vedic truths of religion.

3. Let us turn to the Acharyas as the later commentators have shown more subtlety than insight. Sri Sankaracharya has referred to the *chatvaro manavah* as the celebrated Savarnas. Sri Ramanujacharya accepts the same meaning. In the Vishnu Purana and other puranas these Savarna Manus are thus described:

सावर्णिस्तु मनुर्योसौ मैत्रेय भविता ततः ।
नवमो दक्षसावर्णिर्मैत्रेय भविता मनुः ॥
एकादशश्च भविता धर्मसावर्णिको मनुः ।
रुद्रपुत्रस्तु सावर्णो भविता द्वादशो मनुः ॥

4. I accept this interpretation on the above high authorities. The Lord's meaning is clear enough. Two questions may well be asked. The first is, how can the Lord say that these beings (*Imah prajah*) are the creation of the four Manus to come? We are in the Vaivasvata Manu era. The Manus till now are thus described in Manu smriti.

स्वयंभुवस्यास्य मनोः षड्वंश्या मनवोऽपरे ।
सृष्टवन्तः प्रजाः स्वा स्वा महात्मानो महौजसः ॥
स्वारोंचिषश्चोत्तमश्च तामसो रैवतस्तथा ।
चाक्षुषश्च महातेजा विवस्वत्सुत एव च ॥

The only possible answer is that in the case of the Lord to whom the future is as the present, such a reference by Him is natural and explicable. A *Manvantara* consists of seventyone Devayugas (each Devayuga being equal to four human chaturyugas). The present Manvantara is itself going on. Why did the Lord refer to the four coming *Manvantaras?* It seems to me that the key to this may be found in Chapter IV of the Gita where the Lord points out how he taught the eternal yoga to Vivaswan who taught it to Manu (Vivasvata Manu) who in his turn taught it to Ikshvaku who handed it down to others. The yoga was eventually lost and the eternal treasure was not preserved. The Lord evidently wanted to contrast the great coming race of men in the future Manvantaras who would not carelessly lose such a treasure. The Lord evidently meant the whole *kalpa* including all the fourteen *Manvantaras* as one unit and hence the use of *Imah Prajah* is quite explicable. That the kalpa is the time-unit in the Lord's idea is clear from Gita Ch. VIII verses 17—19 and Ch. IX verse 7. (कल्पक्षये पुनस्तानि कल्पादौ विसृजाम्यहम् ।)

5. The second question is why did the Lord refer to the four Manus when six Manus are to come in this Kalpa? Very probably the four Manus were chosen as in the Kalpa their Manvantaras are the most spiritual and glorious. The 10th Chapter concentrates its attention on such special Vibhuties or glorious manifestations. The cycles of the last two Manus may very likely be *fin-de-siecle* and may be agee of comparative decline ending in the close of the Kalpa? He probably did so because they are specially great personages who are full of the *Vaishnavi Sakti*. Sri Sankaracharya in interpreting मद्भावा says. "मद्भावा मद्गतभावना वैष्णवेन सामर्थ्येनोपेताः ॥

6. When discussing the stanza with my father, he pointed out to me how in the Brahma purana there is a reference to *chatvaro manavah* and how the four *Savarna Manus* (golden in complexion by their stay on Mount Meru) are performing *Tapas* and awaiting the Lord's call to their high cosmic functions.

7. Sri Madhwacharya has struck out a path of his own. He says that the *Chatvaro Manavah* are Swayambhuvah, Swarochisha, Raivata and Uttama. He cites as his authority *Gautama Khilas*,

स्वायंभुवं स्वारोचिषं च रैवतं च तथोत्तमम् । वेद यः स प्रजावान् ॥

He explains the omission of the third Manu Tamasa (or Tapasa as he calls him in the above list.) He says that this was because that Manu was an *avatara* of Bhagawan. This explanation is hardly satisfactory as the Lord includes his avataras in other groups. e.g. *Adityanam Aham Vishnuh* and *Vrishninam Vasudevoham.*

Why were the above four Manus alone chosen when we had eight Manus? Sri Madhwacharya explains this by saying that as the four early Manus were the progenitors of the later Manus they were mentioned. If so the mention of the first Manu would be enough. Sri Madhwacharya's explanation accounts well enough for *Imah prajah*, for there is a difficulty in calling as *these beings* the future children of future Manus. Even in his explanation there is a difficulty, because how can *these beings* who are the children of Vaivaswata manu be called the children of the four earlier Manus? Perhaps the explanation of this would be that as the present Manu is their descendant, his creation may be called as their creation also.

8. On the whole I accept the interpretation of Sri Sankaracharya and Sri Ramanujacharya on the ground of balance of high authority. The difficulty arises because we do not realise the cosmic sweep of the Lord's mind in this Chapter. In describing the Vibhutis, the past and the present and the future and all the universes are laid under contribution by the Eternal Father of Time and Space. सर्गाणामादिरन्तश्च मध्यं चैवाहमर्जुन ।

9. Two other facts are worthy of notice. The seven Rishis are unchanging factors unlike the changing Manus. The other fact is that the pedigree of man as disclosed by the Lord is different from the pedigree suggested by science. Science proceeds from similarity of anatomical structure to affirm transformation of species. But such transformation is an assumption and has not been proved. The pedigree of man has had a parallel line to the pedigree of other forms of life but his line of evolution is not a mere prolongation of the line of animal evolution.

To be continued.

The Panchamas and the Temples.

By G. Harischandra Row.

The Panchamas have their own temples, and may use them. But at a recent session of the Tamil Nadu conference, a resolution was passed urging religious heads to permit the Panchamas to enter other temples and in the course of discussion one gentleman threatned that he would conduct an operation similar to that of the Akalis in the Panjab; he seems to have forgotten that the stuff of which he and his followers were made, was very different from that of the sturdy Akali Sikhs. This resolution is the second in regard to the Panchamas, the first being that on the removal of untouchability. According to those who worship in the temple of Mr. Gandhi the removal of untouchability means the abolition of a fifth caste; and this implies the destitution of all the rights or privileges now enjoyed by other castes; temple-entry is one of those rights or privileges that must be insisted upon. At the next conference you will have a third resolution on another item, so that you will have in a few years a bundle of resolutions, some defensive and some offensive, on the elevation of the "depressed classes." The reformers began with the removal of untouchability; now mark its implications or ramifications! Mark also the increasing intensity of their aggressive tone.

It is a pity that the same remedy should be applied to every disease; what is called *Satyagraha* may or may not be effective under certain political conditions; but to think of applying it to the question of temple-entry is impertinence; nay, impudence. One person used to recite the same *Mantra*, "*Arjunah, phalgunah...*", when he heard the roar of thunder and when he went out a-begging, though there is, of course, no impudence in his case; our *Satyagrahis* now, are, on the other hand, both ignorant and impudent.

People believe that when the Panchamas entered a temple certain purificatory rites involving considerable trouble and expense, should be performed; the service of the idol would in the meanwhile, be interrupted. To enter a temple would not, therefore, be equal to the touching of an individual; in the former case, a large number of individuals were in effect touched; while in the latter, one only. Moreover, an object that is designed for the benefit of a multitude must be more carefully guarded than the body of a single soul, which, it may be added, could be set right with less trouble and less expense. People also believe that Scripture supports them in their view of the matter; and as for traditon, the Panchamas have not entered the temples for centuries. You might ascribe all this to superstition; but you must remember that it has been so from time immemorial, and that the people are sincere in their belief. It would not therefore be safe to violate Scripture, tradition, and popular belief, in an attempt to force the Panchamas

into our temples. The safe course would be to educate the people into your views, so that the reformation contemplated might be effected gradually, and perhaps imperceptibly.

Those who resort to violence under the name of passive resistence introduce the Government also into the field. When some were trying to enter a temple by force, the agents of the temple and a large bulk of the populace supporting them would use force to prevent the entrance; and should one be wounded in the scuffle, there would be a loss of temper, leading to blood-shed. Surely, the Government could not be expected to look on this passively; they would intervene; and if the aggressors were not prepared to give up the struggle, the result would be disastrous. The agitators are not inspired by patriotism; they do not consider the good of the country.

Those who adopt this method do not seem to be men who are really devoted to the cause of Hinduism either, for they cause much disturbance in the temples; if they were really devotees of the Deities, they would not think of doing anything that might interfere with the usual worship according to the traditional interpretation of Scripture. How lamentable it is that gentlemen who do not feel inspired by the presence of an idol, that is, who regard it merely as a stepping stone to the mansion of knowledge, should presume to carry reforms into our temples!

Mr. Gandhi wrote in his 'Young India' of December 8, 1921 (p. 406) as follows—"I advised the cultured 'untouchables' of Travancore that they might *singly* demand entrance into temples if they could exercise *restraint* and stand insults from the keepers without seeking the assistance of courts of law. My advice to 'untouchables' generally is not to test the right of entry into temples whilst the evil of untouchability is otherwise *still in existence*. In no case have I advised entry into *sanctuaries*. In *theory* I do claim that custodians of Hindu temples should throw open to untouchables those parts which are open to other classes." (the italics are mine). Thus, Mr. Gandhi says that the untouchables should enter, one at a time; whereas his followers are attempting to enter our temples in groups. He recommends this course to those only who could exercise self-control under provocation; while these gentlemen, bent upon mischief-making, seek entrance. Again, he warns them not to take up this item before the disappearance of untouchability; whereas the persons have already taken this step, though they have not yet succeeded in making the untouchables touchables. Moreover, he has not advised them to enter the most sacred part of a temple; on the contrary these enthusiasts push forward to the idol itself, and what is more, aim at the usurpation of the officiating and managing authority now exercised by the present custodians. He also takes care to point out that he asserts the right of the Panchamas in theory only; for he fears that any attempt to translate this into practice under the present conditions might lead to serious consequences; our heroes, on the other hand, feel themselves equal to any emergency, and lose no time in putting theory into practice. The following must surely be stronger than the leader!

One argument advanced by the reformers is that the temples are public buildings and that every one has a right to utilise them. But there are some public institutions that are open to the members only; and those alone are members who pay their subscriptions. Males have a right to enter Hospitals intended for women! A Catholic Church must be managed by the Protestants, for it is a public building; and a Mosque must be occupied by those who are not-Musalmans, for a similar reason! So, a Hindu temple may well be restricted to those who enjoy it now, notwithstanding its character as a public place of worship. Moreover, how can the reformers prove that it is public so as to include the Panchamas under the term! It may have been designed for others; in fact it has been in their exclusive possession for a number of centuries; and its founders may have been different for few Panchamas are found founding one in these days. How are we to suppose that they may have been founders of the temples in ancient times, when we see none established by them at present, or that the temples may have been intended for and used by them, when we see none so intended for and used by them for centuries? It is true that there are a few temples now used by them, so that temples to which they are now not admitted seem to have been those that have never been intended for them.

Some argue that as the temples have been constructed and maintained with public funds. with the money of the State, they should be accessible to the Panchamas also. But what contributions have these 'depressed' people, who, as you say, possess no land and own no trade, made to the State revenue? As they have obviously paid little or nothing they must have little or no voice in the management of these temples. Our reformers may urge that work has been exacted of the Panchamas and that therefore their contribution has been in the shape of manual labour. But they have beeen paid for it; for it would not be possible for them to work at all, if they were starved; and if labour be cheap, it is surely not the fault of the capitalist. Nor are the Panchamas the only workmen; if the rates were to be enhanced, that could be done in effecting any fresh piece of work; the old work would be valid under the old rates. Since the Panchamas, thus, do not seem to have given any aid to the temples, they cannot reasonably demand any use of these buildings. In short, the possession of Non-Panchamas has been confirmed by long occupation, while the right of the Panchamas, if any, has been barred by limitation!

Some reformers urge that the support of the State should be withdrawn from the temples in Travancore. But has the State any right to do so? His Highness the Maharaja thinks, I am told, that he is a mere agent or trustee of Sree Padmanabha, so that the State that belongs to Him must be dedicated to His service. Even the portion that is set apart would make His temple self-supporting; and since the State offers little to the temple, the question of withdrawing its support would not arise; any diversion of that property would be misappropriation. As the State of Travancore and the temple of Padmanabha therein appear according to this view to belong to that Deity, they do not appear to belong to the Panchamas; and although these things may not be the property of other classes also, the Non-Panchamas can claim by tradition that the objects have been handed over to them; while the Panchamas can make no such claim. As for other temples obtaining financial help from the State, the worst that could be attempted would be to put a stop to that support; that is, the State might threaten 'Admit the Panchamas also into the temples or lose the aid of the Government'. It would not go the length of saying you *must* receive our money, and admit the Panchamas,' the temples, then, could decline the offer with thanks, and continue the refusal of admittance. Nor would the State seem to be justified in discontinuing the grants; for Travancore may be regarded as a vast Temple State; and just as a City State is primarily a city, so is a Temple State primarily a temple, or a federation of temples: other interests must be held as subordinate to those of the temples; the privileges enjoyed by them cannot legitimately be cancelled. And as the temple-authorities have exercised

the right of disallowing the Panchamas for centuries, there could be no legal interference with that even in the future. When, again, we take Travancore as an ordinary State (that is, without reference to its ecclesiastical tradition,) we shall find that the temples have every right to demand subsidies from the State because it seems to have pledged itself to support these sacred institutions, as it has evidently supported them for centuries; and that since it thus holds them in trust, it could not surrender them to the Panchamas without betraying the trust. Now I quote the following from W. W. Hunter's Imperial Gazetteer: 'Popular tradition, which seems to have good foundation, declares that the rise of the town on this site, and its selection as the Capital of Travancore, are due to the pre-existence and sanctity of the shrine. The temple enjoys a land revenue of £7500 and with many temples in Travancore, is more or less independent of the State.........The frequent religious ceremonies required of Travancore princes, which can only be performed with efficacy at the shrine of Padmanabha, will probably long necessitate the usual residence of the Maharajah in the immediate neighbourhood of the temple.' (Vol. III, pages. 368, 369.)

The above is about the temple of Sree Padmanabha situated, along with the royal residence, in the fort of Trivandrum. It is to be hoped that His Highness, the Maharaja of Travancore, will follow in the foot-steps of his distinguished predecessors without minding the uproar of irresponsible agitators.

Historical and Scientific.

Lectures on Indian Music.

By M. S. Ramaswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L., L.T.,

Lecture IV.

1. Before we proceed any further, it would be well to recapitulate what all we have studied till now. We learnt that, if Sri Krishna pined to see his Gopis; if an antidote for physical pains and mental cares was needed; if a drooping soldier stood in need of an impetus to fight; if the poison-emitting cobra should be compelled to forget its dreadful instinct; if man wanted to escape the degradation into a two-legged lump of flesh but become a worthy citizen of a very superior character; the sovereign remedy for all was, alike, Music. We also learnt that, while Bharatha's *Natyashastram* of the 6th century and Sharangadev's *Sangitharatnakara* of the 13th century—both represented Hindu Music of the whole of India, uncontaminated by the Muhammadan influence; Lochanakavi's *Ragatharangini* of the 14th century, Pundarika Vittala's *Sadragachandrodaya* of the 16th century, Damodhara's *Sangithhdarpana* of 1625, Ahobala's *Sangithaparijata* of 1659, Bhavabatta's *Anupasangitaratnakara* of the 17th century, Muhammad Rezza's *Nagmut-e-Asaphi* of 1813, and Bhatkhande's *Lakshya sangitham* of 1906—all these seven works represented the North Indian music; and Rama Amathya's *Swaramelakalanidhi* of 1549, Somanath's *Ragavibhoda* of 1610 and Vyankatamakhi's *Chaturdandiprakasika* of 1660—these three works represented the South Indian music. We further learnt that the confusion of key-note stopped with *Sangitaratnakara* and the modern 'Sa-grama' commenced right royally with *Ragatharangini* and had been uninterruptedly continued to the present day; that the suddha or Fundamental Scale* of North India had all along been *Kaphi* (the South Indian *Karaharapriya*,) till it was replaced, in 1813, by *Bilaval*; while that of South India had been all along *Kanakangi* (the North Indian *Mukhari*) till, about the same time, it was replaced by *Mayamalavagoula*; that 'the 12 Notes' had been the uniform basis of Indian Music even from Lochanakavi's time, though Pundarika Vittala and Vyankatamakhi appeared to deviate a little from the rule; that the 'genus-species' system of expounding Ragas was, prior to and even during the time of Sangitharatnakara, a matter of extracting Ragas from Moorchanas and Jathis and that way of extraction became obsolete and was supplanted by the modern method, which originated with Lochanakavi and culminated in a codified form during the time of Vyankatamakhi; and that, finally, soon after the advent of the Europeans into India, music went down and down till it now reached the freezing point, by the combined action of godless education and grinding poverty which it had been our peculiar misfortune to suffer from, for the past one century and more. I said that the Indian Politician had been abroad and he would surely ward off the two above-mentioned needs and effect the needed *external* reformation. As an artist, I shall confine myself with the *internal* reformation in the matter of *music-teaching* in our country.

2. It is a patent fact that the practice of dealing with a succession of sounds at once subtle, delicate and fleeting, without a knowledge of the theory to keep it alive, dies with the professor. No teaching of music can be placed on a proper basis without making its theory and practice go hand in hand. 'Music as a *science*,' observes Sir William Jones,* 'belongs to an interesting part of natural philosophy which by mathematical deductions from constant phenomena, explains the causes and properties of Sound, limits the number of mixed or harmonic sounds to a certain series which perpetually recurs, and fixes the ratio they bear to each other or to one leading term; but, considered as an *art*, it combines sounds in such a manner as to gratify our ears and please the sense or affect our imaginations and captivate the fancy.' It thus becomes clear that the 'science' of music distinguishes the sounds and views them analytically, while the 'art' thereof combines them and views them synthetically. Can a painter produce a beautifully combined color, without a previous study of the properties of each individual color? Hence the attention of the people should now be drawn more and more to the *scientific* aspect of music which will surely result in a healthy reaction on its *practical* side and get it correspondingly purified. Music, being mainly a matter of Sound,† an Exposition of 'the Theory of Sound' and its allied subject of 'the Scale and its Development' will be a fitting prelude to a dissertation on music. I shall, therefore, deal, in the present Lecture, with *Physics of Music*.

3. Sharangadev has defined *Sound*, a little crudely, thus: 'The soul, desirous of speaking out its intention, excites the mind; and the mind operates upon the vital heat of the body by setting the air therein in motion and the air remaining in the Brahmagranthi (Lungs?) rises up and produces 'sound,' through the navel, the heart, the neck, the head and the face.' *

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* Pundarika Vittala and Bhavabatta, however, tried to make the North Indian *Mukhari* (the South Indian *Kanakangi*) as the suddha scale of North India. Because the former was a southerner, called upon to reform the North Indian system, and had naturally his mind saturated with the southern system. While the latter, viz, Bhavabatta merely copied Pundarika.

* In his "Musical Modes of the Hindus."

† Mr. W. H. Stone defines Music as the aesthetical and emotional side of sound.

*आत्मा विवक्षमाणोऽयं मनः प्रेरयते मनः ।
देहस्थं वह्निमाहन्ति स प्रेरयति मारुतम् ॥
ब्रह्मग्रन्थिस्थितः सोऽथ क्रमादूर्ध्वपथे चरन् ।
नाभिहृत्कण्ठमूर्धास्येष्वाविर्भावयति ध्वनिम् ॥

Sangitharatnakara.

4. Whatever we perceive through the ear we call *sound*. Such perception is produced only when a body *vibrates* or moves to and fro. A tuning fork, for example, which is U-shaped steel-bar with a stem at the bend, emits a sound, only when its prongs are set in vibration by a stroke. It is a truism in Physics that a body emits 'sound,' only so long as it is in a state of vibration and that, in order to cause the sensation of sound in the ear, the vibratory motion must satisfy two essential conditions, viz,

(1) *It must be sufficiently rapid.* For, witness the slow flapping of a pigeon's wings incapable of producing a musical note, and, as a contrast, witness also the quick flapping of a bee's wings more than enough to make a humming sound.

(*To be continued.*)

Legal.

The High Court on Inter-Marriage.

By G. Harischandra Row.

(2) The Calcutta High Court decided another case, one between Melaram Nudial and Thanuram (1868—9. W. R. 552,) in which the marriage between a *Dome* Brahmin and a woman of the *Haree* tribe was declared illegal. It was stated 'Local custom is the only authority by which such marriage can be sanctioned, the general Hindu Law being against it.'

(3) In the same High Court the case of Ram Kumari was dealt with on the 18th. Feb. 1891 (18 Calcutta. p. 264.) The facts are stated thus—'The petitioner and one Dukhi were originally both Hindus belonging to the Chattri Caste the former being however an illegitimate offspring of Chattri parents. They were duly married according to Hindu rites. Ramkumari became a convert to Muhammadanism, and after her conversion married a Muhammadan named Guzaffer.' (p. 268.) The petitioner's contention is that she, being an illegitimate daughter is of a different caste so that she cannot, contract a valid marriage with Dukhi and that since her union with the Hindu is thus not legally established she is at liberty to marry the Muhhammadan. The Judges, Mr. Macpherson and Mr. Gooroodas Banerjee, thinking that the validity of the second marriage depends on the invalidity of the first, for the Muhammadan Law does not allow a married woman to marry another while her relationship with her first husband still subsists, raise the issue whether the first marriage is valid or not, consider that it is valid, and come to the conclusion that the second is therefore illegal. They observe—'In our opinion illegitimacy is no absolute disqualification for marriage, and where one or both parties to a marriage are illegitimate the correct view seems to us to be to regard the marriage as valid if they are in point of fact recognised by their castemen—as the parties in this case are in effect found to have been—as belonging to the same caste.' (p. 268.) Though illegitimacy may not be a bar to marriage, yet it is certainly a bar to marriage with a legitimate person; in other words, marriage between two illegitimate persons may be permissible; there can be none, however, between a legitimate and an illegitimate person. In the present case, one of the parties to the marriage (Dukhi) is legitimate, and the other (Ram Kumari) is illegitimate; and consequently, their marriage is, strictly speaking, not valid. Still, it is not so invalid as the subsequent one; for Hinduism does not seem to favour the marriage of Hindu children with others; illegitimate offsprings are for purposes of marriage confined to their own circle. Hinduism, again, does not like the re-marriage of women. In choosing between the two marriages, then, the judges are right when they say that Ramkumari's marriage with Dukhi is a valid one; their Lordships, however, are not to be understood as meaning that the validity of such a marriage is on a par with the validity of a marriage between parties both of whom are of legitimate origin. Again, it is clear from the judgement that the marriage with Dukhi is justified on the ground that husband and wife are of the same caste; if the judges thought that the parties belonged to two different castes, the decision would be different. This judgement, therefore, is not favourable to Mr. Justice Sha of the Bombay High Court, who dispenses with the condition of Caste-identity for a valid matrimonial alliance. Further, Ramkumari's parents are of the Chattri Caste; her husband, Dukhi, too is a Chattri; her caste alone is in dispute, for she is not the issue of a formal marriage—Yajnavalkya says *vinnasu*; the caste of the members concerned is almost the same; and the Court concludes that the marriage of Ramkumari and Dukhi is legally unobjectionable; how can Mr. Justice Sha regard a marriage as valid, when the members concerned, as in the case before him, are admittedly of different castes? How is Ramkumari, however, a Chattri? Because, the Judges maintain, she is recognized as such by her caste people. And who are they? All except those have never been consulted, those who have in their evidence stated that she could not be a Chattri by caste, and above all, the blessed bride herself who disowns that caste! Have the Chattries been invited from different parts of Bengal to determine her caste? Are not the witnesses on her side castemen? Perhaps, not; they are all witnesses of the phenomenon called marriage—the *factum valet*—not witnesses of the abstract idea named caste, which is the monopoly of judicial vision; and as for her own confession, well, it is not the opinion of caste *men*, she being a *woman*! Who are those persons, then? Those individuals who formed the matrimonial conspiracy. The very fact that Ramkumari's caste was disputed in court shows that there was no unanimity of opinion on the point. Further, the judges should have ascertained, not what the castemen, whoever they may have been, had thought of the caste, but rather what the custom had been among the Chattries; and the validity of the marriage should have been asserted, only if their Lordships had found some custom by which the illegitimate issue of Chattri parents could be classed under the Chattri Caste. But their Lordships failed to show any evidence of such custom; reliance on the opinion of a few persons only would be opposed to the following ruling of the Bombay High Court (Reg. v-Sambhu Raghu. Indian Law Reports, Bombay Series, Vol. 1., page 352—Sept. 7, 1876:) 'The Court does not recognise the authority of the caste to declare a marriage void, or to give permission to a woman to re-marry.' The decision, therefore, is not well founded However, Mr. Sha will find it rather inconvenient; for their Lordships, as we have seen above, did not say that a marriage would be valid if the castemen, whoever they might be, regarded it as such, but that it would be valid only if they recognised the husband and wife as belonging to the same caste, basing thereby the validity of a marriage on the unity of caste.

(4) In the Calcutta High Court before Mr. Macpherson and Mr. Justice Gardon (28 May 1888) we have Upoma Kuchain-v-Bholaram Dhubi. Here, the plaintiff is a Dhubi or washerman, and the defendent is a fisherwoman. This is a suit by the husband against his wife for restitution of conjugal rights. The defendent's plea is, as usual, that the marriage is invalid on the ground of caste-inequality. But the

judges hold that the marriage is valid since, in their opinion, the parties belong to two divisions of the same Sudra Caste. Referring to Mayne's opinion their Lordships say 'Mayne treats such marriages as obsolete. But the fact that these marriages are not resorted to is no ground for holding that they are invalid according to law." (15 Cal. p. 711) Why have inter-caste marriages become obsolete? They have become obsolete not only because they have been disliked by the people, but also because they have been emphatically prohibited by Scripture. A thing that is not liked may somehow be revived, but one that is clearly forbidden should not; cycling, for instance, if it became obsolete, might be resorted to again, whereas, adultery could not be. In short, inter-caste-marriages have been prohibited, not because they have become obsolete; on the other hand, they have been obsolete, chiefly because they have been prohibited: their revival, being thus opposed to the Hindu Law, would not be valid.

MADRAS.

(1) Pandeya Talever-v-Puli Talever (Madras High Court Reports, Vol I). In this case the contention of one party is, as usual, 'that illegitimacy of the father placed him without the pale of the caste of his parents, and consequently his daughter (the second plaintiff) was destitute of caste, and that a valid marriage could not take place between the late Zamindar (he being of a caste that conformed to the Sastras) and a woman of no caste" (p. 481.) Again, on the same page of the Judgment we read "The case presented by the defendant is that the second plaintiff's father is shown to have been the son of the Zamindar of Pambuli by a concubine of an inferior caste, and the second plaintiff therefore of no caste." The Judge proceeded on the assumption that the Zamindar of Pambuli and his concubine were members of the Sudra caste, holding that the law that related to that caste was different from that which related to the three regenerate castes—"There appears to be no satisfactory ground for the proposition that, as respects either caste, the Hindu Law, independently of special usage or custom, makes illegitimacy an absolute disqualification for caste, so as to affect in the relations of life not only the person who is illegitimate, but also his legitimate children." (p. 481, 482.) *As respects either caste*—it would not be so in the case of the twice-born; *independently of special usage or custom*—any such usage or custom, if proved, would alter the law, so as to render illegitimacy a disqualification, even among members of the Sudra caste.

The Court held that the illegitimate son of a Sudra male would have the right of inheritance—"It is also equally clear that in the case of Sudras the law has been and still is that illegitimate children succeed their father by right of inheritance; Mitakshara Chap., 1, sec. 12; Strange's Hindu Law I. 132."(p. 482.) But the ancient law concerning the illegitimate children of the first three castes has become obsolete, says the Judge—"Under the ancient law it seems that at one time in the case of the three superior or *regenerate tribes* sons not born in lawful marriage had rights of inheritance subsidiary to the *Aurasa* or son by a lawful wife, and could perform obsequies; Manu, Chap. 9. Cl. 159, 160, 180; Mitakshara, Chap. I, sec. 11; 2 Strange's Hindu Law, 194—211; and although this as a general law applicable to those tribes has, in respect of inheritance, become obsolete, yet it is clear law at the present day that by birth and without any form of legitimation, illegitimate children of those tribes are recognised as members of their father's family, and have a right to maintenance." (p. 482). *Subsidiary*—not equal rights even in those days; *maintenance*—this is what is meant by recognition as members of their father's family, "the family status" or "rights" at the present day. We can now understand the Judge's remark. "It—the Hindu Law—recognizes his relationship to his father and family, and secures him substantial rights." (p. 482). I now come to another point. Questions had been framed by the lower Court, and the Pandits attached to it asked to give their answers. The Pandits had furnished the same, in the course of which they had referred to a passage from *Vaidyanadha Deekshiteeya*. In regard to this, the Chief Justice of the High Court, whom I have quoted above, made the following observation "Nothing in the way of authority, except the detached passage referred to by the Pandits, has been adduced; and that passage standing alone cannot be accepted as an authority to that extent." (p. 482). The Pandits refrained from quoting other authorities, for they believed that one from such a well known work as *Vaidyanatha Deekshiteeya* would suffice. Probably, his Lordship was ignorant of the rest, even this one was misunderstood by him; for he continued "It has been taken, we find, from amongst several other merely directory passages on the subject of personal appearance and form to be found in the work of Vaidynatha on marriage, and does not appear to have any specific or particular application." (p. 482). Though caste is mentioned along with attributes of physical fitness, it (caste) is by no means a negligible factor: it is absolutely essential, whatever may be the nature of the rest. Again, the Judge suggests "Although it recommends and inculcates a marriage with a woman of equal class as a preferable description, yet the marriage of a man with a woman of a lower class or tribe than himself appears not to be an invalid marriage rendering the issue illegitimate; Manu, Chap. 3, Cl. 12, et. seq; Mitakshara, Chap. I, sec. II Cl. 2, and note; I Strange's H. L., p. 40." (p. 483). The Judge means that an *anuloma* form of marriage does not occupy the same position as that occupied by concubinage, on the ground that the former is called marriage while the latter is not, so that the issue of the former is not illegimate in the sense in which the issue of the latter is; his Lordship does not suggest that both are of the same status; for, as the authorities referred to by him show in the other places, the share received by an *anuloma* son from paternal property would be secondary to that received by a son of the same caste; in fact, his Lordship accepts preference for marriage in the same caste, though he does not mention its effect on inheritance; the effect is to be inferred from his statement regarding the rights possessed by illegitimate sons of the twice-born as well as his reference to the works named above: when, for instance, the ancient law relating to such sons has now become obsolete, it must be obsolete in regard to sons born in the *anuloma* marriage also; it must be more, for while there are a few cases of concubinage, few or almost no *anuloma* marriages are found in the country; there the law alone has disappeared, while here both the law and the custom have.

To be continued.

Miscellaneous.

The League of Nations.

1. The Work of the League.

(FROM THE PUBLICITY BUREAU, MADRAS.)

How stupendous was the task which confronted the League of Nations at the outset of its career may be judged by contrasting the new ideals with the principles which had become firmly established. To

the principle of Nationality which was based upon the absolute sovereignty of States and took self-interest for its leading motive was opposed the ideal of internationalism, whereby the States agreed to surrender a portion of their sovereign power to the extent of undertaking certain obligations towards one another and to subordinate their own self interest to the good of the world by submitting themselves to the world's judgment. To the competition in armaments, dicated by the primary instinct of self-preservation, was opposed the principle of non-aggression, whereby the nations could reduce their warlike equipment to the point necessary for national safety alone. The old idea of the sword of war as the final arbiter had to be displaced by the newer idea of the sword of justice which should settle national differences by the judgment of the world. And finally, the conception that the less advanced places of the earth were appointed for exploitation by more progressive peoples, whether their skin was white or brown or yellow—and more specially that Africa was intended to be developed for the personal or national gain of the white man—had to be overcome by the newer conception that such primitive parts should be governed, protected and developed primarily in the interest of their inhabitants.

At the bottom of these four cardinal principles lay the horror of war and the desire to substitute some more rational sttlement for disputes. The ideas were for the most part the evolution of earlier dreams, but the advance of the democratic system and the expansion of colonial adventure, alike by Europe, by Asia and by America had necessitated new methods and a new point of view. At most, only a compromise could be hoped for; only by successive steps and by slow degrees could the nations be expected to modify their long accustomed attitude. It very soon became apparent that unless the various States would agree to surrender more of their sovereignty than any one of them was disposed to do, the work of the League must often be rendered abortive for, as has been said, the League is a League of Nations and of nations represented by Governments. It can only function at all as the Governments agree to act in common—and they can only be persuaded, not compelled. Where the Governments agree, the League machinery has shown itself abundantly adequate to carry their common policy into effect. Where they fail to agree the League comes near to be paralysed.

In dealing with armaments, the League was faced by the fact that it was very far from embracing all the nations of the earth. The ideal was a community of nations working together for the peace of the world; the naked facts were that neither Germany, Russia nor America nor (as repsesenting the hopes of Islam), Turkey was included in it and that the unstable world had not yet attained to confidence in its ideals. The newly-formed States were trembling for their precarious existence. There was open war between Greece and Turkey which sent sympathetic thrills through out Islam. And with this was bound up, not indeed the desire for war, but the persistent feeling that war was after all the only remedy. Of Colonial adventure and new conception of the Mandatory system more will be said in its proper place. It is sufficient to say here that even amongst thoughtful and educated men, it is as yet only dimly understood and that the common charge against it, that it is only veiled annexation, is due partly to this misunderstanding of the ideal and partly to the impatience of the accusers.

This rather lengthy preface is necessary to a right understanding of the work of the League, because, unless the magnitude of the task and difficulties are realised, its achievements cannot be seen in proper light. Impatient critics who look upon the League as a futile and ineffective body fail to take into account that it is armed only with power to recommend and not with authority to command, that its work is to be measured less by the thing done than by the progress of nations in their willingness to co-operate to a desired end. And just as the Indian National Congress brought together many races and many tongues for an exchange of views, so the gathering of the nations in the Assembly of the League has enabled the men of many nations to understand one another better, and in the sphere of those ideas of right conduct which are common to all civilised men, to co-ordinate their action more quickly than would have been possible after months of the older diplomacy by means of despatches and ambassadors.

Thus, if it be granted that the primary function of the League is to alter the outlook of nations towards one another and towards established institutions, considerable progress has already been made. Let us now turn to the more concrete history of its work. Much of this is prepared for the Assembly or the Council, as the case may be, by Commissions of three kinds:

1. Those expressly set up by the Covenant.
2. Those appointed by the League for the study of general questions.
3. Those similarly appointed for specific matter.

There are two Commissions set up by the Covenant, the Permanent Mandates Commission established by Art. 22 and the Armaments Commission established by Art. 9. The Mandatory system will be discussed at length in a later paper; as we are here only dealing with the work of the League it is sufficient to note that owing to the action of the League and the Permanent Commission, the system is now working, and the danger of disputes over the "spoils of war" has thus been avoided. Steps have been taken to secure to the League some measure of control over the administration of Mandated territories.

On the other hand, substantial progress in disarmament has been retarded by the facts already mentioned, the incomplete character of the League at present and the general unrest in the world. To assist the work of the Permanent Commission, the League appointed a Temporary Mixed Commission consisting not only of experts in war but also of experts in economics, politics and labour, and this Commission presented a report which showed some progress in the collection of evidence and was able to announce the acceptance by certain States of the recommendation to limit temporarily their budget expenditure on armaments. There is however no subject which depends so vitally upon the policy of the national Government and upon a general agreement among them; it can hardly be expected that this important question can be decided immediately.

The League sets up Commissions from time to time which may be permanent or temporary according to the work allotted to them. They may have to deal with wide questions or with special subjects referred to the League. Those set up by the First Assembly were six in number:—

1. Legal and Constitutional Questions.
2. Technical Organisations.
3. Blockade and Armaments.
4. League Organisations.
5. Humanitarian Questions.
6. Political Questions.

Of these, Commission 2 dealt with Finance and economics, and Commission 5 with such matters as the Traffic in Women and Children and Opium Control. Public Health, on the other hand, is considered of such vital importance that a special Permanent

Committee of nine, with a medical Secretary and staff attached, has been set up with instructions to meet four times a year.

Meanwhile the Secretariat at Geneva is divided into sections which are always at work carrying out the decisions of the League upon the advice of the Committee. This system produces great elasticity and makes for quick work.

It would be unreasonable to expect that wide questions will settle themselves at once in an assembly the delegates to which have been brought up in differing traditions and who are for geographical and other reasons living under differing political conditions and cannot but consider the national interests of the people whom they represent. Thus, the Economic blockade may affect a people with large, far more than one with small, trade, a weak nation more than strong, a neighboring nation more than a distant one. But if we pass to more concrete examples, we shall find that the League has more definite achievements to its credit. The two new States of Poland and Lithuania, the one having regained something like her position before she was divided up between Austria, Prussia and Russia, the other restored to life after long incorporation with Russia, had a dispute over boundaries which threatened to lead to war. Neither party has yet accepted the settlement proposed by the League, but at any rate there has been no fighting there for two years. This may be regarded as only a partial success, but the League has no power to enforce its settlements, and at least, the whole question is open to a peaceful arrangement.

In the question of the Albanian frontiers, the League was not acting alone, for the matter has been taken up by the Conference of Ambassadors and the frontiers were finally settled by them. It has however been claimed for the League that it was instrumental in bringing the Conference to action; in any case, the mere delimitation would not of itself have averted war, unless the disputants agreed to it. But the happiest feature of the settlement and the best augury for the future was the entire reconciliation of two forces Christian and Muslim. It was the first occasion on which a world-organisation has ever attempted to set up a joint Mussalman and Christian administration, and it serves as a precedent for similar disputes. There were however mutterings of War, and it is certain that the threat of an Economic Blockade with the immediate result that the currency depreciated and the prospects of a loan were endangered brought Serbia to her senses. The danger of a conflict passed and the result must be placed chiefly to the credit of the League.

The League has also settled a dispute between the South American States of Bolivia and Chili. The facts need not be set out here, but the question was interesting because Bolivia had demanded the revision of a Treaty which, she thought, was disadvantageous to her. The League held that treaties must be respected unless they became inapplicable, that is to say, unless circumstances had so changed that their provisions had become obsolete. The dispute is also interesting as the first specific extra-European quarrel yet dealt with by the League. The decision was in favour of Chili, and Bolivia has accepted it.

On the other hand, the case of Armenia showed how little the functions of the League are understood even by the Governments who brought the Covenant into existence. The League was asked to undertake a Mandate for Armenia but, as was already pointed out the League is an Assembly of Nations acting through their representatives, whereas a Mandate implies the administration of a country under the control of the League. But the League has neither money nor forces to undertake such a task, and the administration would have been a joint international affair which at any rate, in a country situated as Armenia is must always be inconvenient. A mandate moreover implies control, and under the system the League itself is the controlling body. The request was therefore reluctantly declined. The two outstanding cases in which the League has been triumphantly successful are those of the Acland Islands and of Upper Silesia. The case of the Acland Islands arose out of the wish of the islanders to belong to Sweden rather than to Finland with which they were incorporated. Sweden claimed for them the right to hold a plebiscite; Finland took her stand upon her sovereign rights. There was a danger of war, and Great Britain appealed to the League under the terms of Article II of the Covenant, which permits the intervention of third parties in face of great danger of war. The matter was amicably settled, and an international agreement was concluded.

In the case of Upper Silesia the chief powers interested, France and England, agreed before-hand to abide by the decision of the League. Rightly or wrongly, the League decided in favour of partition and since then, in spite of certain symptoms of hostility, the situation has become much easier, and war has been averted.

Thus, in three cases, the intervention of the League has directly and in one other indirectly averted a catastrophe, and this alone should be the justification of its existence. But this slight sketch would not be complete without some reference to its humanitarian activities. Considerable progress has been made towards co-ordinating international action in the suppression of what is known as the White Slave Traffic, that is the traffic in women and children for illegal purposes. The laws of the various States differed, but thirty-three States have now signed a Convention drafted by Great Britain, which will thus secure uniformity of treatment. The League has also made enquiries with a view to a stricter control over the use of opium. It also assisted in the campaign against typhus in Eastern Europe, in the repatriation of prisoners of war by the Norwegian explorer, Dr. Nansen, and in dealing with the case of those who have fled from Bolshevik rule in Russia.

Thus it will be seen that the League's activities cover a very wide field; in some cases success has been marked, in others failure at least in part, must be admitted; some of the subjects are far advanced, others are still in the stage of preliminary discussion. It must however be remembered that the League of Nations has only held its Third Assembly and that, quite recently. Only those who hoped for a miracle and still hope, have any cause for disappointment. If the success actually achieved falls below expectation, much has been done, and there is bright promise for the future.

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